111

A TREATISE

VVHERIN IS DECLARED, THAT THE REGIMENT OF VVOMEN IS CONFORMABLE TO the lavve of God and Nature.

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Made by Morgan Philippes, Bachelar of Diuinitie, An. 1570.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LEODII.

Apud Gualterum Morberium.

1571.

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LEODII.

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VVHERIN IS DECLARED, THAT THE REGIMENT OF WOMEN IS CONFORMABLE TO the lawe of God and Nature.

The Third Booke.

ALBE it (good Reader) you haue now heard a conueniēt and a sufficient proufe, so farre as the Lawes of this Realme may serue, for the right Title and Claime of the Queene of Scotland, and so we might right wel seeme to haue fully discharged our promise and office: yet as the matter nowe falleth out, especially, if we shal geue any credite to any infamous libel, or rather a fierbrande of sedition late cast abrode, al our cost is forlorne al our trauaile imploied in vaine, and must begin a fresh.

An infamous libel made lately against the Queene of Scot.

For al this notwithstanding, her right is doubtful (saith this man) and such as against which is iust exception taken, by the lawe of God and man: It wil neuer be prooued by the law, no, not by her best frindes: so wil the Croune neuer be geuen her by iust and cō-mon counsaile: I meane not the consent of vnquiet spirites and brauling braines, but of a great number of them, which are to be ac-compted amongest the best, for the loue of Religion and of the common wealth.

Surely these are only wordes, this is con-fidently spoken But yet let vs heare withal, what proufes this sober brained man, and so feruent zealatour of Religion, and of the cō-mon wealth bringeth foorth, for the anou-ching of his sturdie allegation. What lawe, what Acte of Parlament, what custome or vsage, what auncient recorde of historie of this Realme, doth this man lay forth for him selfe? Surely none at al. And as he laieth foorth not so much as one iote this way: so no doubt, he shal neuer be able, to lay forth any thing of like weight, as that, that alrea-dy is alleaged.

No, no (good Reader) this man goeth not by Acte of Parlament, nor by any lawe of

this Realme, nor (what soeuer he speaketh, of mans law, for a bare countenance) by Ciuil or any other humaine law. This extraordinarie wilie fellow runneth another race: all these lawes are but beggarly baggage to him, and argumentes of brauling braines. This sober braind man wil not abase himself, with intermedling with so low matters, but aspireth, and amounteth aloft, and fetcheth a meruelous high fetch and reach, and being as it were ghostly rauished, contemning as it seemeth al humaine lawes and policies, he maketh as it it were a plaine demurre with vs in law, that we haue pleaded our matters al this while in a wrong Court.

For lo, this matter by this sobre mans iudgement, seemeth not triable, either in the Arches or Consistorie of Poules by the Ciuil or Cannō law, or in Westminster Hal by any law or Acte of Parlamēt. This plee must be only mainteined with the recordes of holy Scripture, but of his owne sobre braines interpretatiō only, and holdē before himself, and his new erected tribunal, furnished and adorned with such quiet and sobre spirits as himself is. Th'infallible verity, the high Mie. of the sacred scriptures I do most hartly cōfesse

The Authour of the same seemeth litle to regarde touching, the succesion of the Croune, any lawe, but holy Scripture only.

and moſt humbly reuerence. But yet, if ye wil intrude your ſelfe and others, with the promulging from your new Tribunal ſeate, ſuch and ſo ſtrange paradoxes and ſentences to the vtter ouerthrowing of al humaine policies and lawes, yea to the preſent and and iminent danger not only of this of Scotland, but alſo of al other whatſoeuer Queenes: we muſt be bold to ſee what warrant and commiſsion you haue, and to examine and well to vew the ſame, we muſt buckle with you and trie, whether the autoritie of holy Scripture, whiche is your only refuge, wil vpholde and beare out your ſtrange and ſtout concluſion.

He groundeth him ſelf chefly vpon the 17. of Deuteron.

The place then, wherevpon he groũdeth him ſelfe, is this: *Thow ſhalt make him King ouer thee, whome thy Lorde thy God ſhal chooſe from amongſt thy brethern: him ſhalt thou make a King amongſt them.* From this authoritie he fetcheth out al his high myſtical and ſupernatural concluſions. And firſt he excludeth the Queene of Scotland, bycauſe ſhe is an alien, and not *ex fratribus*: and therefore not choſen of God. Wherevnto he addeth, that the King muſt be ſuche, as the people may ſay to him, as the Iſraelites ſaid to King

a. Samuel. 5

Dauid

Dauid: *Ecce os tuum, & caro tua nos sumus:* We are of one nation and blood. Thereunto he adioyneth, that it is assigned, as one iuste cause, why *Athalia* was turned out of her kingdome, bycause she was *alienigena*, an alien, *maternum genus ducens à Tyriis & Sidonius.* 2. Reg. 11.

These now are all the prouses deducted by this man out of holy Scripture. For other hath he none, why the Queene of Scotland, being a stranger, ought to be disherited, and reiected from al such claime, as she pretendeth to the Croune of England.

Now for answere, and first to the 17. of Deuteronomie, wherein as I wil not quarel with you for the shrewde meaning, that perchaunce some man may probablie gather out of this Treatise, and smal liking that ye haue to the Gouernment proceeding from succession onely: so I plainly affirme, first, that we are not bound to the Ceremoniall or Iudicial, or other preceptes of the Iewish law (except the Decaloge) farther then the Churche or Ciuil policie haue renued againe. I say then farther, that this authoritie of Deutronomie, can not fitly serue your purpose, for that it taketh place, when

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the people chooſeth a King, and not when there is a lawful and ordinary Succeſsion, as was euen amongeſt the Iewes from King Dauides time. Albe it he, and King Saul before him, came in by Gods and the peoples ſpecial election.

Wherefore I doe admit your Principle to be wel groũded vpon Scripture: That the choiſe and election of Princes muſt be directed and meaſured by Gods Holy Worde, wil and pleaſure. What then? I would faine know, by what Logike, by what reaſon a mã may thus conclude: we ought to chooſe no ſtraunger to our Prince: ergo a ſtraunger, though he be the iuſt, and next inheritour to the Croune, muſt be diſplaced. The one dependeth of our owne free wil and election, which we may meaſure, and rule, as we ſee good cauſe: the other hangeth only vpõ the diſpoſition and prouidence of God. There we may pick out choice: here we muſt take ſuch as God ſendeth. There conſent beareth the ſtroke: here proximitie of blood beareth the ſway. There we offre no iniurie to any partie, in accepting the one, and leauing th'other: here do we iniurie to god that doth ſend, and to the partie, that is by him ſent.

Great difference betvvixt ſucceſsiõ and election.

And

And to ſay the trueth, it is but a malaperte controlment of Gods owne direction and prouidence. For in the former parte, we be the chooſers, and muſt direct and gouerne our choiſe by reaſon and diſcretion by the merit and worthines of the perſon: here al the choice, al the voices, are in Gods hād only. As good right hath the infant in the ſwadling clothes, as hath any man called at his perfect age and wiſdom.

It is a true ſaying, *Chriſtiani ſimus*, we are made Chriſtiā men: we are not borne Chriſtiā men, *nō naſcimur*. But in this caſe of ſucceſsiō, *Reges naſcūtur, nō fiunt*: men are borne and not made kings. Let this fellow therfore cōclude as ſtrōgly as he cā or wil againſt the choſing of ſtraūgers: yet if he bring forth no place out of Scripture againſt the Succeſsiō of a ſtranger, claiming by proximitie of the blood Roial: as farre as the man ſhoteth, he ſhoteth to ſhort to hit the marke. But Lord what an ilfauored ſhort ſhote wil it be accōpted, if ſhe be found no ſtraūger at al? It is very probable, that in this place the ſcripture meaneth of a mere foreiner and ſtraunger, ſuch as were neither borne in Iewrie, nor of the Iewiſhe blood. For with ſuche Aliens they

Auguſt. de merit. & remiſſ pecc. cont. Pela. li 3. c 8. & 9. to 7. & in queſt. ex nouo Teſt. ca. 8. to. 4.

they were forbidden alſo to couple in mariage, by reaſon they were Idolatours, and might thereby them ſelues be occaſioned (as they were oftentimes in deede) to abandone and forſake their true and ſincere Religion. Such a ſtranger, I am wel aſſured, this Ladie is not to vs (if ſhe be any ſtraunger at al.) The Scotteſmen and we be al Chriſtians and of one Iland, of one tonge, and almoſt of one faſhion and manners, cuſtomes, and lawes. So that we can not in any wiſe accompt them amongeſt ſuch kinde of ſtraungers, that this place of Moyſes mentioneth: namely the Ladie Marie the Quene of Scotland, being not only in hart wel affectioned and minded to al Engliſhmen, as hath by many experiments ben wel knowē: but alſo by deſcent and Roial blood all Engliſh, whiche ſhe taketh from the noble Kinges longe before the Conqueſt, and after the Conqueſt from the worthie Princes Henry the firſt, and Edward the third, and of late daies from the excellent Prince King Henry the ſeuenth, and his daughter Ladie Margaret her grandmother.

Queene of Scotland no ſtraunger.

Al which cauſes, with ſome other in ſuch number concurrant, ought rather to inforce

vs, to thinke and to take her, as no ſtraunger to vs, rather then to eſtraunge her from vs, by the only place of her Natiuitie, which is yet neuertheleſſe within the fower ſeas, and very nigh to England, by Oſbred, bounding at Starling bridge.

Laſt of al, touching the forſaid Chapter of Deuteronomie, we affirme, that it is vntrue, that ye ſay, aſwel that this lawe of Gouernment bindeth our Kinges to the hauing and following of this law, as we haue ſaid (vnleſſe to omitte other thinges, ye would bind our Kinges alſo, to receaue the Deuteronomie at the hãds of the Leuitical Tribe) as that ye ſay, that God gaue here a lawe to the Iewes, to make or chooſe a King: and ſo conſequently, al your illations out of this place ſeeme to be of ſmal force. For to ſay the trueth, as God neither gaue them this or any other lawe, for chooſing of a King, nor did bid or will them to chooſe a King: ſo did the people moſt greeuouſly offend God in demanding a King.

For though by the iudgement of Ariſtotle and other Philoſophers, Monarchie, wel and orderly vſed, is the beſt kinde of al other Regiments (which God doth alſo wel like) 3. *Politico.*

like) yet would he haue no ſuch magiſtrate among the Iewes. But as he choſe them, for his propre, peculier, and ſelecte people, and ruled them, as wel in the Deſert, as in Iudea, by a ſeueral, peculier and diſtinct order and Gouernement from other Nations, and after ſuche wonderful and miraculous ſort, as the like was neuer harde of in any Regiment by ſides: ſo would he alſo reſerue to him ſelfe only, the ſaid Supremacie and Monarchie.

Neither was he a litle angrie with the Iewes, nor they committed any ſmal fault, but (as it were) renounced and reiected Gods owne Monarchie, in crauing a King, as holy Scripture plainely and openly teſtifiet: *Non te* (inquit) *reiecerunt, ſed me, ne regnem ſuper eos.* And the people afterwardes acknowledged their fault: *Addidimus vniuerſis peccatis noſtris malum, vt peteremus nobis Regem.* God therefore did not bidde them, or wil them, to chooſe a King, but forknowing long before by his eternall forſight, what they would do (though contrarie to his bleſſed wil and pleaſure) did in this, as in other matters, beare with their weakenes, and condeſcended vnto the ſame

1. Reg. 8.

1. Reg. 12.

and

and fortold them in the ſaid 17. Chapter, that in caſe they would needes haue a King, of what kind and ſort he ſhould be.

And therefore immediatly before the wordes, that ye recite (thou ſhalt make him a King ouer them.) is this texte: *Cùm ingreſſus fueris terram, quam Dominus Deus dabit tibi, & poſſederis illam, habitaueris q; in illa, & dixeris: constituam ſuper me Regem, ſicut habent omnes per circuitum Nationes: eum constitues, &c.* And when thou ſhalt come into the lād, which the Lord thy God geueth thee, and ſhalt poſſeſſe, yea and dwel therein, if thou ſay, I wil ſet a King ouer me, like as all the Nations that are about me: then thou ſhalt make him King ouer thee, whome &c. Whiche wordes making for the illuſtratiō of this place, ye haue omitted. Wherfore as this place ſerueth nothing for any abſolute election of a King, the ſecond, which you ſeeme eſpecially to regard and ground your ſelfe vpon, ſo doth it (as we haue ſhewed) as litle releue you, to proue therby your concluſions (eſpecially againſt the ordinarie ſucceſsiō, either of a ſtrāger, or of a woman) that ye would gather and conclude out of the ſame.

Thus

Thus haue we ſufficiently anſwered the place of Deuteronomie for this one purpoſe. Th'other two autorities, may be much more eaſely anſwered. The people meant nothing els, by their ſaid wordes ſpoken to Dauid, but that they were the ſeede of Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, as wel as he, and intended with true and ſincere hartes vnfainedly to agniſe him as their chiefe Lord and Soueraigne. For at that time the Tribe of Iuda only (whereof King Dauid came by lineal deſcent) did acknowledge him as king. Now the reſidue, which before helde with Saules ſonne, did alſo incorporate and vnite themſelues to the ſaid kingdome. If this man looke wel vpon the matter, he ſhal find, I trowe, that the Queene of Scotland may as wel cal her ſelfe, the bones and fleſhe of the Noble Princes of England, as this people cal them ſelues, the bones and fleſhe of King Dauid.

An anſvvere to the 2.

Samuel. 5.

But yet the great terrible battering Cannon Athalia is behind. She being in poſſeſſion of the kingdome ſeuen yeares, was iuſtly thruſt out, by cauſe ſhe was an Alien. We may then, (ſaith this man) iuſtly denie the Queene of Scotland the right of that,

which if ſhe had in poſſeſsion, ſhe ſhould not iuſtly enioy. Yet Sir, if the Queene of Scotland be no Alien (as we haue ſaid) then is your Cannon ſhot more feareful, then dangerous. We deny not, but that Athalia was lawfully depoſed: but we beſeche you, to tell vs your Authours name, that doth aſſigne the cauſe to be ſuche, as you alleage. Surely for my part after diligent ſearche, I finde no ſuch Authour. Trueth is it, that Ioſephus writeth as ye doe, that ſhe deſcended by the mothers ſide, of the Tyrians and Sidonians: yet neuertheleſſe, he aſsigneth no ſuch cauſe, as ye doe.

Ioſeph. Iudaic. Antiq. lib. 9. cap. 6.

And as ye are in this your preatie poiſoned pamflet, the firſt (I trow) of al Chriſtian men (I wil not except either Latin, or Greke, vnleſſe it be ſome fantaſtical fonde, and new vpſtart Doctour, as M. Knoxe, or ſome the like, neither Iew, Chaldee, nor Arabian) that hath thus ſtraungely gloſed and deformed this place of holie Scripture, againſt the ordinarie ſucceſsion of women Princes: ſo are you the firſt alſo of all other Diuines, or Lawiers throughout the world, that hath ſet forth this new fonde fooliſhe lawe, that the Kings childe muſt be counted an Alien,

whoſe

A newe, fond and madde interpretation, vvho is an Alié, made by the Aduersarie.

whose father and mother are not of the same and one Coūtrie. If the French or Spanish King chaunce to marie an English woman, or the King of England to marie a French, a Spanish or any other Country woman: their Children by this new Lycurgus, are Aliens, and so consequently in al other Nations, al such are, haue ben and shalbe Aliés, by this your new oracle. For what other cause shew you, that this Athalia was an Alien, but bycause her mother was an Alien, *genus ducēs*, say you *à Tyrijs & Sydonijs*, coming by lineal descent, by the mothers side, from the Tyrians and Sydonians?

Ioseph. ibi. cap. 6.

King Achas maried her mother, doughter to Ithobal King of the said Tyrians and Sydonians. This Athalia, whom Iosephus calleth Gotholio, Achas daughter, maried Ioram King of Iuda, her brother called also Ioram, being king of Israel, after the decease of his father Achas. So then ye see, that this Athalia was nomore an Alien among the Iewes, then king Edbalde Baldus was, the sonne of Bertha a Frēch womā, and of King Ethelbertus, the first Christian King of th'English nation: no more then was the noble King Edward the third borne of a French womā

Athalia vvas no Alie amōg the Iewes

no

more then Queene Marie was: no more
en ſhould haue bene the iſſue of the ſaid
Marie, in caſe ſhe had had any by the king
Spaine. I perceaue, that your felowes, that
ould faine make King Stephen, King He-
e the ſecond, and Arthur Neuew to King
ichard the firſt, Aliens: had but rude, dul,
nd groſſe heades, in compariſon of your
ne, ſubtile, and high fetches.

If I ſhould now deſire your patience, not-
withſtanding the allegations of al your Di-
initie, to be content a while, and touching
his matter to harken to the moſt excellent
Ciuilian Vlpiã, though he were an Ethnike:
e would perchance make litle accompt of
im, and be angrie with me, for producing
a profane Witneſſe againſt you. And yet
truely, in this I offre neither to you, nor yet
to Gods holy Worde, any iniurie in the
world. For Chriſtes high and Diuine Do-
ctrine doth not ſubuert and impugne hu-
maine and Ciuil policie, being not repugnãt
to his expreſſe Worde and wil. Let vs then
heare, whome the ſaied Vlpian maketh an
Alien.

Who is an Alien by Vlpian.

He is a Campane (ſaith this Vlpian) that is
borne of father and mother being Cam-

Who is an Alien by Vlpian.

panes: yea if his father be a Campane, and his mother be a Puteolane: yet is the childe a Citizen or Burgesse of Campanie. And then he sheweth farther, that in some Coūtries, as among the Ilians, and Delphians, and them of Pontus, the Childe shalbe counted to be originally of the mothers, and not of the Fathers Countrie. His wordes in Latin, as he wrote them, are these: *Qui ex duobus Campanis parentibus natus est, Campanus est. Sed si ex patre Campano, matre Puteolana, qui municeps Campanus est: nisi forte priuilegio aliquo materna origo censeatur. Tunc enim materna originis erit municeps. Vipotè Ilienſibus concessum est, vt qui matre Ilienſi est, sit eorum municeps. Etiam Delphis hoc idem tributum & conseruatum est. Celsus etiam refert, Ponticus ex beneficio Pompeij Magni competere, vt qui Pontica matre natus esset, Ponticus esset.* Which his saying is direct against you, for this your strange declaration of *Alienigena*, an Alien.

L. 1. ff. ad municip.

Wel, if neither the declaration of Vlpian, nor yet the practise of the world most conformable also to reason, nor any thing els wil satisfie you, vnlesse it be deriued and taken out of the Holy Scripture: we are content, to ioyne issue with you, and

to be

to be tried by the same only. Christe came lineally of Booz, whome Salomon begat of Raab (as the most common opinion of Writers is) that betraied Hiericho to Iosue: and may we now falsly think, that this Booz was stränger, an Alié, and no Iew? and so withal infringe, breake and peruert the Genealogie of Christ, and the continual Succesiō of the Iewes, Christes progenitors? Ye know, that as Athalias mother was a Tyriā, or a Sydonian: so was Ruth a Moabite. This Ruth maried the foresaid Booz. I aske you now again, whether Obed the son of the said Booz, and Ruth were Aliés amōg the Iewes? If ye say, he was not: then must you nedes cōfesse, the same of Athalia. If you say, he was: then the holy Scripture maketh euidētly against you. For of this Obed Christ came lineally. And if you step forward (as you lustily begin) a foot or two more, ye wil, or as wel you may, make king Dauid also, to whom Obed was grādfather, yea and Christ himselfe, not much better then Aliés. And so hath Athalia at legth spon a faire thred for you. We deny then, that this Athalia was an Alié amōg the Israelits: and therfore she could not be bard frō any inheritance due vnto the daughter,

Matth. 1.
Iosue. 6.

Dauid and Christ descend of Obed Ruthes sonne.

4. Reg. 11.

among the Children of Iſrael. Neither was ſhe remoued from the kingdom, as this ſobre man being beſt awaked dreameth, by cauſe ſhe was a ſtraunger. But for that ſhe moſte cruelly, and vnnaturally, ſleaing and murdering her Nevewes, the ſonnes of her ſonne King Othozias, lately killed by Iehu, by ſhameful meanes vſurped her ſelf the croune apperteining to her Nephew Ioas, who by the prouidence of God was (ſhe being vſurper of it) preſerued from her boutcherie. And after ſeuen yeares, by the help of Ioada the High Prieſt, was anointed King, and ſhe depoſed, and worthely put to death. And this cauſe doth appeare euen in the very Chapter and place, that this brauling braine doth alleage. As for the cauſe he him ſelfe proponeth, we wil not ſticke with him, to geue him a longer date, to fetche out and ſhew vs his recordes, and his authours, at his good leaſure.

Wel, this ſtring wil not ſerue his bowe: we wil therefore liſten againe to him, and conſider, how wel he harpeth vpon the next ſtring: whiche ſurely doth geue as il fauored a iarring, and as vntunable a noice as the firſt, or rather more vntunable. Wherein

our

our good quiet brother doth ſo ſtraine and wreſt the worde, *ex fratribus*, among the bretherne: that he wreſteth away not only the right, and intereſt, that the Queene of Scotland pretendeth to the Succeſsion of the Croune, but doth wreſt withal the Croune from al Princes neckes that haue ben, are, or ſhalbe women. And of al ſuch as haue, do, or ſhal claime their inheritance, by th'intereſt, and title of their mothers, whiche haue no better Title, then their progenitours from whom they claime.

For amongeſt his new notable notes, that he noteth out of this ſeuententh Chapter of Deuteronomie, for the chooſing of a King, we may note (ſaith he) the ſexe, by the maſculine gendre, vſed in this worde *ex fratribus*: for vnder the other ſexe, *Ataxia* moſt commonly creepeth into the ſtocke and Countrie.

He ſaith alſo afterward, this politique law, that God did geue the Iewes, is grounded vpon the law of Nature, and is alſo as euerlaſting, as Nature it ſelfe is, and is of all natural men to be obſerued. It is (ſaith he) of Nature, that the preſcribed ſexe ſhould gouerne the other: he meaneth, women ſhould

be gouerned. Then he knitteth vp the Conclusiō of his new pestiferous policie: which I cōclude, that Gods law, Nature, and good reason do reiecte the Queene of Scotland, and denie her that kingdom, which she wold faine possesse. Who wold euer haue thought that such a quiet sobre braine, out of this one word *fratribus*, could haue found in his hart so vnbrotherly, and so vnchristianly, and so fondly withal to extort such an interpretatiō as is able (if it were receaued) to disturbe, infrige, and breake the quiet and lauful possessiō, and inheritance of a great part of the Princes of the world? Yea and as fondly, and vnnaturally to frame of hīself a new law of Nature also: and so most wretchedly to corrupt, depraue, and maim both the law of God and Nature? Yet bicause this mā geueth out his matters, as it were cōpēdious oracles, and least some might think, that such a sobre mā hath some good and substātial grouid in this his saying: seing he is so bold with his owne gloses vpon the holy Scriptures: I wilbe as bold vpō him a litle, to sift, and examine the weight and veritie of thē. And first touchig the law of nature, which he maketh as a pik-axe to vndermine the state of so many Princes:

An answere to the Aduersarie, tou-

ces: we might here inlarge many thigs, how and in what ſort the law of Nature may be takē. But we wilbe therin compendious and ſhort. The law of Nature cōmōly is propre, appertaining aſwel to other liuing things, as to mā, as Vlpiā the notable lawier writeth. Ther is an other law, that is called *Ius Gētiū*, the law of al Natiōs, and it is called alſo the law of Nature, by cauſe the diſcourſe of natural reaſon forceth al Natiōs, to obey ād kepe this law, as to honour God, to obey our Parēts, and Magiſtrats, to kepe and mainteine our bargains and promiſes, in buyng and ſelling, and in other cōtracts, to defend ourſelfe frō violēce and iniurie, with a nūber of ſuch other. I ſuppoſe th'Aduerſarie meaneth not of the firſt kind, but of the ſecond. Whereof he muſt nedes meane, if he meane to ſpeake any thing to the purpoſe. I ſay then, that this is a falſe and an vnnatural aſſertion, to make this ſurmiſed law euerlaſting, as nature it ſelf is. The law of Nature, or *Ius Gentium*, is, and euer was, after the time that there was any Nations of people, and euer ſhalbe. This counterfeit law of Nature neither is, nor euer was, nor as farre as reaſon may reach to, euer ſhalbe. It ſhalbe inough for vs,

ching the lawe of Nature, which he wreſteth againſt womens gouernement.

L. 1. ff. de iuſt. & iure l. ueluti l. ex hoc. l. omnes eod.

Eſt enim nō ſcripta, ſed nata lex, &c. Cicero pro Milone.

The practise of Womens Regiment in Asia, Aphrica and Europa.

to ouerthrow and cast vnder foot this counterfeit lawe: to shew and proue, that womē haue frō time to time, borne Princely Regiment in the most notable parts in the world and in the best and most famous cō-mon wealthes, that euer haue ben. For the knowledge whereof, I referre the Reader to auncient histories, being the registers of Antiquitie, which do plainly testifie, the same to haue bene often practised in Asia, Aphrica, and Europa.

Strabo geographi. lib. 14.

First in Asia. Queene Artemesia

Concerning Asia, I finde, that Artemesia, who builded the sepulchre of her husband Mausolus, one of the notable spectacles and wonders of the world, and her sister Ada with others, reigned in Caria. This Ada being thrust out, was restored by Alexander the great. The countrie also of Pandea, in Iudæa, was gouerned by women. The gouernement of the Queene Semiramis and Nitrochris in th'Empire of Babylon, of Queene Thomiris, among the

Queene Ada.

Womans regiment in Pandea a countrie in Iudea.

Queene Semiramis, and Nitrochris

Queene Thomiris.

Solinus in collect. lib. 67. Plinius lib. 6. cap. 20. Adrianus lib. 8. de gestis Alexā. mag. Iustinus li. 1 Herod. li. 1. Strab. li. 16

Mesa-

Meſagites, is to her great praiſe and commendation in auncient monumentes recorded. Ioſephus maketh mention of Helena the Queene of the Adiabens. Euſebius of Maumia the Queene of Saracens. Atoſſa was gouerneſſe of the Perſians, a moſt excellent woman alſo for her learning.

Ioſeph lib. 20. & 21. Antiq. c 2. Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 12. Ruff lib. 2. Eccle. hiſt. c. 6. Clemens Alex. lib. 1. ſtromat.

It may alſo appeare by the ſtorie that Iuſtine writeth of Aſtiages the King of the Medians, that in in Media the women ſupplied the lacke of male children, in Princely gouernement. There is mention made alſo of Erato, whom the Parthians choſe to be their Queene. We wil now make vp our concluſion for Aſia with Claudians verſe.

Iuſtinus lib. 1. Tacitus lib. 2.

Medis, Ieuibuſq; Gabeis
Imperat hic ſexus, Reginarũq; ſub armis
Barbaria pars magna iacet.

Claudianus lib. 1. in Eutropium.

Out of the which we haue purpoſely leaft Iudea, reſeruing it as a principal helpe, for the vtter ouerthrowing of this mans fantaſticall interpretation of the forſaid word,

Fratri-

Fratribus. In the ſtories and monumentes touching Aphrike, we reade of Quene Dido at Carthage, Cleopatra in Aegypt, and of diuers other Queenes there. The firſt King of Aegypt was Oſiris, who in his abſence cõmitted the whole Regiment to his wife Iſis. In AEthiopia, where reigneth a mightie Prince, a Chriſtian mã, and one that hath many Kings ſubiected to him, not many yeares ſithence in the nonage of King Dauid, his grandmother the Queene did moſt politikely, wiſely, and godly rule thoſe Realmes. And it appeareth in the olde ſtories, that in Chriſtes time, and before, that Country had no other Princes, then women, which were called al *Candaces*. Such a one reigned there about the time of Chriſtes Paſsion, whoſe chief ſeruaunt was conuerted to Chriſtes faith by S. Philip. By whoſe meanes the Queene alſo vpon his returne, became with her ſubiects a Chriſtiã woman. And that is thought to be the

Womans Regiment in Aphrica

Queene Dido.

Queene Cleopatra

Queene Iſis.

Strabo, 12. & Iuſtin. 18. & Diodor Sicul. li c. 2. &

Damianus Agoes de fide & moribus AEthiopũ.

Beda ca. 8 in Acta Apoſtolorum.

Euſeb. lib. 2 Eccleſiaſt. cap. 1.

Plinius li 6 c. 29.

Strabo lib. 17.

Act. Apoſtolor. ca. 8.

the firſt Countrie, that publikely embraced the faith of Chriſt. And thervpō the ſaying of the Prophet Dauid ſeemeth to be verified, ſaying: *Æthiopia præueniet manus eius Deo.* And yet that notwithſtanding our worthy Britanie, among al the Prouinces, that were of the Romaine Empire, hath thereof the noble prerogatiue.

Dorotheus *de uita & obitu Prophetarū & Apoſtolorum.* Hieronym. *in cap. 52. Eſaiæ.* Hilar. *in Pſalm. 61.* Euſeb. *lib. 2 cap. 1.* Sabel. Strabo *lib. 16.*

Women were the chief Magiſtrates among the Teneſians and Sebrites. In the time of King Salomon, the notable woman, that came from the vttermoſt part of the earth, to heare the wiſdom of the ſaid Salomon, whome the olde Teſtament calleth the Queene of Saba, the new Teſtamēt the Quene of the South, was a Queene, and as Ioſephus writeth, the Queene of Ethiopia and Egypt, Countries of ſuch greatnes ād largenes, as no one Prince throughout al Europe, hath ſo ample dominiō within the ſame. Perchāce her dominiō did ſtreach to Cephaha, whiche draweth wel toward

3. Reg. 10. 2. Paral. 9. Math. 12. Luc. 11. Ioſeph. Iudaicar. antiq. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Salomons ſhips fetched gold from Cephalia.

towarde the fardeſt part of Aphrica. Wh... interpretatiõ ſeemeth not far a ſquare fr... the wordes of the holy Scripture. Fr... thence, as the Annales of the ſaid Coun... record, Salomons ſhips euery third ye... brought merueilouſe plentie of gold a... ſiluer. Other ſuppoſe, that the ſaid Na... went to the late founde landes of weſt I... dia, eſpecially to the Iland now called Sp... gnola.

Stobæus 42. ex Nicolao de moribus gentium.

I finde in the ſaid Aphrica one ſtrang... and fond kind of people, called Buaci, wh... men gouerned men onely, and women go... uerned women onely: and yet were the... not ſo hard maſters to women, as ye are, no... thought womens Regiment (as ye do) to b... againſt nature. And to finiſhe this ſeconde... parte, it ſeemeth by Lucan, that in theſe... quarters of the worlde, it was no newe or... ſtraunge thing, to ſee a woman a Prince, as appeareth by theſe wordes of Quene Cleopatra:

Non vrbes prima tenebo
Fœmina Niliacas, nullo diſcrimine ſexus
Reginam ſcit ferre Pharos.

Lucan. lib. 10.

As for Europe, as it is better knowen to vs, ſo therein haue we withal greater ſtore of ex-

xamples of this kinde of Gouernement. pire, as it appeareth by Olympias daugh- o Pyrrhus: In Macedonia, where a wo- called also Olimpias, succeded after the h of Alexander the great: yea and in the at and famous Empire of Constãtinople, ere Irene, Theodora, Zoe, an other The- a, and Eudocia were the chiefe and high giſtrates. The ſaid ſecond and laſt Theo- a anſwered the Embaſſadour her ſelfe, iudicially in her owne perſon gaue ſen- nce, as wel in publique, as in priuate cauſes. hoſe gouernement was alſo proſperous, ppie and fortunate.

Womans regiment in Europa. Queene Olimpias in Epyre. Olimpias in Macedonia. Irene. Theodora Eudocia. *Zonaras Tom. 3. Annalium.*

Moreouer, it appeareth, that the Illyrians and Slauons were ruled by Queene Teuca. What ſhal I ſpeake of Spaigne and Portingale, and of the Dukedom of Burgundy, and of the Earldom of Flanders, and of other partes of low Germanie? Conrade the Duke of Franconie and Landgraue of Heſſe was made Countie Palatine of Rhene, and Duke of Loraine, by the inheritance of his wife Irmelgardis. He had but one daughter, who was married

Womans regiment in Spaine, Portingale, Burgundie and Flanders.

ried to Conrade Duke of Sueuia, wherby was made Countie Palatine of Rhene. Conrade had a daughter called Agnes, ried to Henry Duke of Saxonie and Li burge, who therby inioyed the Countie P latine. The like may be said of diuers oth partes of the Germanical Empire, yea a w mā hath ruled and gouerned the said who Empire, as it is euident in Agnes the wi of the Emperour Henry the third, durin the time of the minoritie of her sonne He rie the fourth. And yet the same Empire ye wote wel, passeth by choise and election and not by lineal succession of bloode: ye many hundereth yeares, ere she was borne and in the florishing time of the olde Ro maine Empire, Mesa Varia grandmother to the Emperour Heliogabalus and Alexan der Seuerus, sate with the Senate at Rome, heard and examined the weighty causes of the Empire, and set her hand also to suche thigs as passed, touchig the publike affaires.

Agnes vvife to Henry Duke of Saxony.

Agnes vvife to Henry the 3. Emperour. *Pau. Aemil. lib. 3. Car. lib. 8.*

Ful. de dict. & fact. memor. lib. 8. cap. 16.

I do now adioyne the kingdom of Sicile and Naples in Italie, of the whiche Italie Noah, whom the prophane Writers cal Ianus, made Crana his daughter ruler and Quene, wher also Lauinia reigned after the

Crana Noahs daughter *Beros. lib. 5 Liui. lib. 1. dec. 1. AEneas Sylvius de Asia. c. 20.*

Lauinia.

death

death of Aeneas. And as for Naples, this presidēt of womanly Gouernment is not there only of later yeares in both the Queenes called Iohanne, but euen from very auncient time: which thing the stories do recorde in Amalasintha, that gouerned after the death of her father King Theodoricus with her sonne Athalaricus. The said Amalasintha was mother to Almaricus King of Spaine, and after his death ruled her self the said Realme.

Let vs nowe adde farther, the Dukedoms of Loraine and Mantua, the kingdome of Swetia, and Dania, and of Noruegia, whereof Margaret the daughter of Waldemarus was gouernesse and Quene: the kingdom of Beame and of Hūgarie. And to draw nere home, the Realm also of Scotlād, which realm hath denomination of a woman, as their stories report, as hath likewise Flaunders. The like, some of our stories report of Englād, wherein I wil make no fast footing.

Chronic. Palmerij. Her. Contrac. Mūst. uniuers. Cosm. lib. 4 AEneas Syluius in descript. Asiæ. d. ca. 20. Hect. Boet. lib. 1. Histo. Scoti. uide la geneal. des Rois de France impre. Paris 1561. in Carolo Magno.

Now

England. Now touching the feminine Succeſsi[on] to the right of the Croune of England, [and] no new found Succeſsion, and much le[ſs] vnnatural. We reade in our Chronicles [of] Queene Cordel the thirde heire and daug[h]ter of King Leyre the tēth King of Britan[y] that reſtored her father to the kingdom being depoſed by her two other ſiſters. We reade, that about three hundered, fifty and fiue yeares before the Natiuitie of Chriſt[e] Martia Proba, during the nonage of he[r] ſonne, did gouerne this Realme ful politike-

Martia Proba. ly and wiſely, and eſtabliſhed certaine lawes called *Leges Martiana.*

There be aſwel of our owne, as of exter-

Helena mother to Conſtātin the great. *Onuph. de Rom. Principib. Euſeb. de vita Conſtantin. lib. 1. Eccl.* ternal hiſtoriographers, that for a moſt certeinty affirme, that Helena the noble Conſtantine his mother, was a Britaine, and the only daughter and heire of Coelus King of Britanie, and that the ſaid Conſtantine was borne in Britanie. Surely that his father Cōſtantinus died in Britanie at Yorke, and that the ſaid Conſtantinus began his noble Victorious race of his moſt worthy Empire in Britany, it is reported by auncient Writers, and of great faith and credit. And that likewiſe, long before the ſaid Helens time, wo-

men

men bare the greateſt ſway, both in warre and peace: and that the Britaines had womē for their Capteines in warfare. Amōg other Cornelius Tacitus writeth thus: *His atque aliis inuicem inſtructi, Voadica generis regij femina Duce (neque enim ſexum in Imperijs diſcernunt) ſumpsêre vniuerſi bellum.*

Voadica.

In vita Agricolæ.

We haue now already ſhewed of Henry the ſeconde, who obteined the Croune by the mothers right. Which ſaid King by the title of his wife, and after him his Succeſſours Kings of England, did inioy the Dukedomes of Aquitania, and the Dukedome of Poiters, as the ſaid Kings Succeſſour ſhould haue done alſo (as we haue ſhewed before) the Dukedome of Britanie, if Arthur King Richardes Neuew had not by the vſurping of King Iohn, and his vnnatural crueltie, died without iſſue. And by what other right, then by the womans inheritance dew to King Edward the third by his mother the Frenche Kings daughter, doe the Kinges of this Realme beare the Armes and Title of the Kings of Frāce? And though the Frēch men thinke their parte the better againſt vs, it is not but vpō an old politike law of their owne (as they ſay) and not vpon any ſuche

Henry the ſecond K. by his mothers right

Vide Alli: geneal cap. 1561.

The Frēch make not vvomens Regiment vnnatural.

fonde ground, as ye pretende, that women Regiment is vnnatural.

Which Regimēt ye ſtoutly affirme to be farre a ſunder from any natural Regimēt, yea truely, as farre as was the boies head frō the ſhoulders, the laſt Bartholmew Faire at Lōdon, which many a poore foole did beleeue to be true. For as the boies head remained ſtil vpon his necke and ſhoulders, though it ſeemed by a light liuely legerdemaine, to be a great way from the bodie: ſo would you now caſt a miſt before our eies, and make vs beleue, that womans gouernmēt and nature be ſo diuided and ſundred, that they may in no wiſe be lincked and coupled together. But ſurely the French nation was neuer ſo vnwiſe, to thinke this kind of Gouermēt repugnant to Nature, or to Gods holy Word. For then they would neuer haue ſuffered their Realme to haue ben ſo often gouerned and ruled by women, in the time of the nonage or abſence of their Kings. As by Adela the mother of King Philip, and by Blanche the mother of S. Lewis, and by the wife of the late King Frauncis taken priſoner at Pauia, and by diuers others. Neither ſhould the ſaid Adela and Blanche haue ben ſo cōmen-

Adela K. Philippus mother ād Blanche the mother of S. Lewis. See the prefaces of the ſaid alliances.

ed of their ſaid noble and worthy rule and gouernmẽt. The ſaid Frenchmẽ, though by policie they haue prouided, to exclude foriners from the inheritance of the Croune they themſelues holde at this day, by the womãs title and intereſt, the Dukedom of Britanie, with diuers other goodly poſſeſsions. And we haue ſhewed before, how lewis the Dolphin of France made a Title to the Croune of this Realme, in the right of his wife. Thus I haue, as I ſuppoſe, ſufficiently proued, that this kinde of Regimẽt not against Nature, by the auncient and continual practiſe of Aſia, Aphrica and Europa. For the perfecting of the whiche laſte parte of Europa, and of the whole three partes, I ende with the notable Poet Virgils verſes:

The Frẽch men hold great principalities by the vvomãs right.

The concluſion against the Aduerſaries, touching the lavv of Nature.

Filius huic fato Diuûm proleſq́, virilis
Nulla fuit, primaq́, oriens erepta iuuenta eſt:
Sola domum, & tantas ſeruabat filia ſedes.

Virgil. li. 7.

We knit vp therfore our concluſion againſt you after this ſort. That law and vſage cãnot be compted againſt the law of nature, or *ius Gẽtiũ*, which the moſt part of al coũtries, and one great or notable part of the whol world doth and hath vſed: but this lawe or vſage

is such: *Ergo* it is not against the law of Nature. The *Maior* nedeth no proufe: and for the proufe of the *Minor*, we neede to imploy no farder labour, then we haue already done. Whervpon the consequēt must nedes be inferred: that this law or vsage doth well agree and stand with the law of nature. The reason thereof is, that it is most natural, the daughter to inherite her fathers patrimonie, wherevnto if there be a dignitie annexed, both are so vnited and knit together, that they can in no wise be vnlinked.

Marie, if you had driuen your argument, of the duetie and obedience, that the wife oweth to her husband, and had argued: It is the law of Nature, that the wife should be ruled and gouerned by her husband: *Ergo* it is against Nature, that the wife should be head to her husband, in respect that she is his wife: then had you argued conformably to reason, Scripture and Nature. But if you wil thereof inferre: *Ergo* she can in no wise be head to her husbande: then play you the Sophister, making a fallible and vitious argument, and making a confuse mingling of those thinges, that be of sundry and diuers Natures.

The vvife in some case may be head to her husband.

The child must obey his Scholemaister, and Parentes, and may iustly of them be chastised, though he be a Prince: yet this notwithstanding, the said childe may vse his authoritie, by his Magistrates, against his Scholemaister, yea and if the cause so require, against his Parents to, as did Edward the Confessour, and King Edward the third against their mothers. Euē so the case fareth with the husband and the wife. The wife may without any impairing or mayming of her duetie, to God, or to her wedlocke, represse her husbandes misdemeanour, if it be needeful to the common Wealth. And yet is she not therby exempted from such dewtie, as the matrimonial coniunction craueth of the wife, towardes her husband.

You frame an other argument of inconueniences, as though vnder the womās Regiment, *Ataxia*, that is to say, disorder most commonly creepeth in. I wil not deny, but sometime it is so: but that most commonly it is so, that I deny. Let both the Regiments be compared and matched together, and weied by an indifferent ballance, and I am deceaued, but the inconueniences of the mans Regiment for the rate, wil ouerpaise

the other. And it is ful vnmete, vnseemely, and a dãgerous matter, to rule Princes rights and Titles, by such blind ghesses.

Wel, you wil yet say, you haue Scripture on your side: you say, the Iues were cõmaũded, to take no King, but *ex fratribus*, a brother: *Ergo* we can haue no Sister to our Q. To this obiection also my two former answers may sufficiently serue. First you must proue, that al Christian Princes are obliged and subiected to this part of Moyses law: and that shal you neuer be able to do. Which thing you saw wel inough, and therfore you were faine, to vnderprop and vphold this your ruinous and weake building, with the strong force of the law of Nature. But this force, as you haue hard, is but the force of a bulrush. Our secõd answer also wil sone infringe and breake this your conclusiõ, which respecteth only the free and voluntary election and choise of a King. But we speake of birth and Succession, wherein we haue none interest, but God, who is th'only iudge and vmpier, and hath by his Diuine prouidence, made to our handes his choise already, which if we should vndo and reuerse, we might seeme to be very saucy and malapert

with

with him. But we wil remoue and relinquish al theſe helpes, and ſee, what, and how farre this authoritie forceth by the very wordes.

Frater, is the maſculine gẽdre (you ſay) and therefore women are to be remoued. Then by this rule women alſo muſt be excluded from their ſaluatiõ, by cauſe Scripture ſaith: He that ſhal beleue, and be baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued. Holy Scripture abũdeth of like places. As, *Beatus vir, qui non abijt in conſilio impiorũ, &c. Beatus, qui intelligit &c.* And by this rule women are excluded from the eight beatitudes. But we wil not ſhufte your owne worde (brother). We ſay therefore, that this worde muſt not be taken ſo ſtrictly and narrowly, as you take it. For firſt, not only in Scripture, but in olde auncient prophane Authours, it comprehẽdeth the brothers childe: yea and ſomtime in Ciuil law cooſin germans comming of two brethern. Abraham called Loth his brothers ſonne, brother. Medea alſo calleth her ſiſter Chalciopes ſonnes, her brethern, ſpeaking to her ſiſter in this ſorte.

εἰ ἔλθ' ἐμὶ φυχῆς προφρεσέσθαι, ὅτι παίδων,
σῶν δείλων, οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ ἀδελφεοὶ γεγάασιν.

What abſurditie followeth by the ſtreining this word *ex fratrib⁹. Marc. ulti.*

Pſal. 1. et 4.

L. Lucij §. quæſitũ ff. de legat. 3. & ibi Barto.

Geneſ. 13.

L.1.ff.de verborum ſignific.
L. Tres fratres.ff de pact. & l. Lucius. fami. Ercis. Dict.l. Lucius §. Quæſtum. Quæſtum eſt, an quod hæredes fratribus rogati eſſent reſtituere, etiam ad ſorores pertinet, Reſpõdit, pertinere, niſi aliud ſenſiſſe teſtatorem probetur.
Leuit.9. Deut. 23. Zacha.7. Math.18. 2. Theſ.3. 1. Ioan.2.

Againe, as in the Ciuil law the maſculine gendre cõprehendeth the feminine: ſo doth it in your worde (brother). Modeſtinus writeth thus: *Tres fratres, Titius Meuius, & Seius Paulus* alſo *& Titius, fratres*. Sceuola ſaith, the bequeſtes made by the teſtatour *fratribus*, to his brethern, ſhalbe beneficial to his ſiſters alſo, vnleſſe it may be proued, that the teſtatour meant otherwiſe.

Now when the holy Scripture ſaith, thou ſhalt not hate they brother: Thou ſhalt not lend vpon vſurie to thy brother: let euery man vſe his brother mercifully: if thy brother treſpace againſt thee, forgeue him: withdrawe your ſelfe from euery brother walking diſorderly: he that hateth his brother, is in darknes, with a number of like ſort: ſhal we inferre therevpon, that we may hate our ſiſter, that we may oppreſſe our ſiſter with vſurie, that we may vſe our ſiſter as vnmercifully, as we wil, without any remorſe of conſcience, and are not bound to forgeue her, nor to eſchewe her companie being excommunicated, or a notorious offendour?

Neither this vvord

Wherefore neither this worde (brother) excludeth a ſiſter, nor this worde King in

scripture excludeth a Quene. In the Greke ongue, one worde repreſenteth both bro her; and ſiſter, ſauing that there is a diffe ence of gendre, ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή, After the me rate, the wordes King and Queene are nit vp both in one, aſwel in the Greke, as in he Hebrue מַלְכָּה מֶלֶךְ, and in the Frech, *Roy & Royne*: and from this the Latin tonge *Rex* and *Regina*, doth not farre diſagre.

brother excludeth a ſiſter, nor this vvord King a Queene by any Scripture. Melech. Malcah.

Seing then by interpretation, this word (brother) conteineth the worde (Siſter) alſo in Scripture, and the word (King) by proprietie of one and the ſame voice and ſignification expreſſeth the Quene, both in Scripture, and in other tonges: why ſhould we not aſwel communicate to women the dignitie apperteining to the name, and reſembled by the ſame, as the name it ſelfe? For euen in this our owne Country, albe it the names of the King and of the Queene doo vtterly varie one from the other, and alſo the auncient Statutes of the Realme do not onely attribute and referre al prerogatiue and preemineńce, power and iuriſdictio vnto the name of a king, but do giue alſo, aſsigne and appoint the correction and puniſhment of al offenders againſt the Realm and digni-

tie of

tie of the Croune, and the lawes of the Realme vnto the King: yet al mãner of the forsaid iurisdiction and other prerogatiues are, and ought to be fully and wholy, and as absolutely in the Prince female, as in the male. And so was it euer deemed, iudged, and accepted, before the Statute made for the farder declaration in this point.

Anno Mariæ 1. c. 2.

The like we say of both the forsaid words, brother and *Rex*, vsed in this place of Scripture. whereof if there do yet remaine any scruple or doubt, to any man: for the auoiding and cleane extinguishing of the same, we wil referre the Reader to the noble Ciuilian Paulus, and to the rule before, by vs touched. *Si de interpretatione legis quæratur: inprimis inspiciendum est, quo iure Ciuitas vtro in eiusmodi casibus vsa fuit. Optima enim legum interpres consuetudo.* It is for vs then to consider, whether in Iudea and Hierusalem women haue at any time ben the chief Rulers and gouernesses, and whether the Iewes euer interpreted this place after the meaning and sense of this man?

L. ff. ff. de Legibus.

the Iewes neuer interpreted this word after the sort, as the aduersarie doth.

Surely at such time, as Christian men bare rule at Hierusalem, we know wel, there was no such interpretation. For among other

Fulko

fulko the Countie of Aniow, who leaft his ſaid Countie to Geffrey his ſonne, Father to Henry the ſecõd, by th'Empreſſe Maude, and went to Hieruſalẽ to King Balduin the ſecõd, and ther maried Melyſãd his daughter and heire, was afterward by his wiues title King of Hieruſalem. Salome Herodes ſiſter was made Gouerneſſe by Auguſtus Ceſar of Iamniã, Azotum, Phaſilides and Aſcalonia. Which thing is a good prouſe, that the Romaines thought it not vnnatural (as ye think) for a womã to inioy ciuil gouernmẽt.

I might hereto adde the wiues of Ioãnes, of Ariſtobulus and of Alexãder, who gouerned and ruled the ſaid Iewes, after the death of their huſbãds, with ſuch other. Whiche ſtories though they be not in Scripture, yet are they Authentical, and of good credit. And yet are we not altogether vnfurniſhed of a ſcripturely exãple, but rather we are ſo furniſhed, that God ſo long before forſeeing that there ſhould come ſuch vnnatural cauilling quarellers againſt his creature and prouidence, hath as it were al at once mett with them, and anſwered to al ſuch calumnious cauilling of yours and ſuch others, as you ſhal by and by vnderſtand.

Alliances c. Paradini Fulko and others kīgs of Hieruſalem by their vviues right.

Ioſeph. lib. antiq. Iud. 17. c. 13.

Ioſe. lib. 13. c. 19. & 20 Egeſip. de excid. Hiero. l. 1. c. 12 the vviues of Ioannes Ariſtobulus and Alexander gouerned the Ievves

A wo-

A woman, pardy (if we beleue you) must not kepe the ſtate and honour of a Prince and Quene. And why, I pray you? Was not ſhe created to the image of God, as wel as man? And doth not ſhe repreſent the Maieſtie of God? Did not God bleſſe them both? Did not God bid them rule ouer the fiſh of the ſea, and ouer the foule of heaue, and ouer euery beaſt, that moueth vpō the earth? But what thing meane you by th'image of God? Meane you, as S. Paule ſeemeth to meane, that man was created in righteouſnes and true holines? This is true alſo in the woman.

Genes. 2. & 3.

Some thinke, that the Image of God repreſenteth the bleſſed Trinitie, which is (as ſuch an high thing may be) ſomwhat reſembled by memorie, by wil and by vnderſtanding: which are in womē, as wel as in men. What thing is ther, that reaſon, wit and vnderſtanding may reach to, that women haue not, or may not atchieue and atteine? For learning, ther haue ben many women exactly learned, in Muſique, Aſtronomie, Philoſophie, Oratorie, Phyſique, in Poetrie, in Law and Diuinitie.

Women learned.

Atoſſa the Queene of the Perſians, of whom we haue ſpoken before, was the firſt,

A that

hat inuented the manner of writing of epi-
ſtles. Aſpaſia was Scholemaiſtreſſe to that noble Orator and Captaine Pericles. The noble Philoſopher Socrates was not aſhamed, to be taught of Diotima. Accurſius his daughter profeſſed the Ciuil law openly at Bononie. The Sybilles be famous among Writers, aſwell Chriſtians, as other. Paula and her daughter Euſtochia were notably learned: and diuers other women in S. Hieromes time, as it appeareth in his workes, beſides diuers other before his time, of whom he maketh mention, as alſo of the aforenamed Aſpaſia, Sappho, Cornelia, and ſuch like. Hyptachia paſſed al the Philoſophers of her time, and ſucceeded Plotinus in Plato his Schole, openly profeſsing at Alexandria diuers liberal ſciences. And what were the nine Muſes, but virgines moſt excellent in the ſame? Who is called the Goddeſſe of learning, but Minerua? Which alſo found out the Arte of planting and ſetting? What ſhould I now ſpeake of the noble learned womā of our Britanie? of Cābra the daughter of King Belin, who promulged the lawes which of her name, as ſome of our Coūtrey men write, haue their denomination; and

Clemens Alexand. Stromat. lib. 1.
Plato in Mene.
Socrates in Simpoſio Platon.
Albericus l. Qui filiū Vbi pupil.
Hieron. In Præfat. in Sopho. ad Paulum & Euſtoc.
Tripart. lib. 11. c. 12.
Diodor Sicul. lib. 1, & 5.

are

Illæ Numæ coniunx, consiliũq; fuit. Ouid. 3. *Fastorũ.* Iustinian and other Princes consulted vvith their vviues in publike affaires. Women the occasion that the Kings their husbandes vvere cõuerted to the faith. *Theodelida Bertha. Clothildis. Iustinian. Authen. ut Iudic. sine quo. qui suffrag in princip l. bene. c. de præscript. quadriẽna.* Hero. *Hal lic. lib.* 1. *Tripart. lib.* 9. *c.* 31.

are called Sycambricæ: of Martia Proba, of Helena, and such other like. We nede not runne vp to so high and farre yeares: we haue hereof at home date and also present and worthie examples. Perchance you will obiect, that women are vnable and insufficient, to consult of great and weightie affaires, as being but of weake and feeble wit and counsaile. If this reason hold, you must exclude from al princely Honour and Regiment, al Kings that be vnder age, or otherwise that lacke discretion, as wel as wome. And yet, as weake as they are, Numa King of the Romains, the great Monarche Iustinian, beside others, did consult to the great cõmoditie of themselues and their cõmonwealthes, with their wiues, for the better ordering of the publike affaires. The life of the great Monarche Cyrus was preserued by the counsaile of the wife of an heardman. Theodosius also th'Emperor toke great benefit, by the good cõsaile of his wife. Theodolinda was th'occasiõ, that her husbãd Agilolphus K. of the Lõbardes, and Bertha, that our King Ethelbertus, Clotildis, that Clodoueus the King of France, receaued the Christiã faith. The Lacedemoniãs, the wisest

people

eople amõgeſt the Grecians, and the Athe-
ieſes alſo vſed in the old time, to haue wo-
nen preſent at the debating of publike af-
fires. Which thing was practiſed amõg the
ld Germanes. Neither Socrates, nor Plato
lo altogether remoue womẽ, being apt and
mete therto, from publike adminiſtratiõ. A-
riſtotle cõfeſſeth, that in the commõwealth
of the Lacedemonians, many thinges were
done by women. The ſaid Ariſtotle, though
he preferre the rule and gouernmẽt of men,
yet doth he not reiect the other, as vnnatu-
ral, but graunteth,

ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀρχόσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπίκληροι οὖσαι.

That ſomtime women, being great inheri-
tours, haue the prĩcipalitie. Now that many
cõmonwealths haue ben commendably and
worthely gouerned by thẽ, and that in their
gouernmẽt lacked neither witte, policie, de-
xterity, prudẽce, liberalitie, iuſtice nor mer-
cy, neither any other thing mete for a Prĩce:
I could eaſely declare, but I do forbeare by
reaſon of tediouſnes, and for that in the per-
vſing and diſcuſsing of the ſtories by me al-
ready reherſed, it wil moſt eaſely, moſt fully
and moſt euidently fal out, to al ſuch as be
deſirours to trauaile therein.

Paulus Diacon. de geſtis Long. Beda lib. 1. Eccl. Hiſt. Paulus Æmil. lib. 1. Plutarc. in com Numæ & Lycurg. & in uita Ægidis. Auguſt. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 18. c. 9.

Plato and Ariſtotle do not vterly reiecte vvomens gouerment.

Tacitus de moribus Germanor. Plato. Dialog. 5. Repub. Polit. lib. 2. c. 7.

In

In caſe al this wil not ſatisfie you, and that you thinke it ſtil to be vnnatural and againſt Scripture, for a woman, that is ordeined to be ſubiected to her huſbande, to be Gouerneſſe and Head to a publike ſtate: and that you thinke alſo, that for al other reſpectes, a woman might be a Gouerneſſe: yet conſidering that ſhe muſt haue the managing of martial exploits, which in deede may ſeeme in no wiſe agreable to a womã, and is ſurely the dificulteſt matter of all in our caſe and queſtion, and that you can not, nor wil not be ſatisfied, vnleſſe you may for this, and all other doubts, be by Scripture perſuaded: lo then I bring to you one authoritie of Holie Scripture to ſerue al turnes. I bring, I ſay, noble Debora, to decide and determine all this controuerſie and contention. who, you can not denie, was the chief and ſupreme Magiſtrate ouer the people of God, to Gods wel liking, aud by his owne ſpecial gratious appointment. She hearde, determined, and decided al manner of litigious and doubtful controuerſies, aſwel for bargaines and contractes, as for doubtes and ambiguities of the law: and that not by other Magiſtrats intermediant, but by her ſelfe perſonally.

Debora vvas Gouerneſſe of the Ievves by Gods ſpecial appointmẽt. Iudic. 4.

Erat autem Prophetissa: she was a Propheteſſe. which wordes Origen ſingulerly wel doth note, ſaying: that holie Scripture doth not vſe ſuch phraſe of ſpeaking of any other of the Iudges, leaſt any man ſhould grudge and repine (as this frowarde natured man doth) at womans regiment. *Homil. 4. in 4. cap. Iudic.*

Let no man tel me now of the courageous Amazones. Let no man tel me of Zenobia the Queene of the Palmeries, and beſides her excellent learning, of her noble Chiualrie, nor of Artemiſias, that white liuered and cowarde Perſes manly wife, nor of our manly Voadica, nor of any other the wiſe politike victorious Queenes, that we haue before named, or of any ſuch like. Our Debora ſhal ſerue vs, one for al. *Pollio Vopiſtus in vita Aureliã. Herod. lib. 8. Iuſtin. lib. 2.*

Iabin the King of the Chananees had kept the people of Iſrael for their ſinnes and offences to God twentie yeares in great miſery, ſlauery, and bondage. He had three hundred thouſand footemen, tenne thouſand horſmen, and three thouſand charriotes, ſeruing for the exploits of his warres. This noble Debora ſent for Baracke willing him to muſter the people, and with tenne thouſand men, to ſet vpon Siſara, Iabins Ca- *Iudic. 4. Ioſeph. antiq. Iud lib. 5. c. 6.*

The great victory of Debora.

piteine. But Barac would not go, vnleſſe ſhe went alſo. Wel, ſaith ſhe, I wil go with the. When they ſhould haue buckled, Barac and th'Iſraelites, fearing the huge multitude of th'enemies, would haue recoiled backe into ſome ſafer and ſurer places. Nay, ſaith Debora, depart not, plucke vp your harts, for al is ours. And vpõ this they incountred with th'enimie, and behold there fel ſodainly vpon th'enimies faces ſo vehement a ſtorme of raine and haile, that it toke frõ them their ſight, and did ſo ſore beat them, that for very cold and weaknes, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands. Ther-vpon being wonderfully diſcouraged, breaking ther aray, they toke them to their fete, and in fleeing, ſome were ſlaine by th'Iſraelits, ſome by their owne horſmen and Chariotes.

I ſpeake not this of Debora, bycauſe I think warlike matters properly, and ſo well to apperteine to women, as to men. I know and do wel allow the ſaying in Homer, of Hector to his wife:

ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖ ἰθύσατα σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἴσον τ' ἰλακατάθυπε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλεσσι κελεύσα
ἔργον ἐπιΐχειν, πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρασι μελήσει.

I ſpeake

I ſpeake it to this purpoſe only, to ſhewe, that a woman may not only haue ciuil regiment in other thinges, but may intermedle alſo, when the caſe requireth, with warlike matters, and be preſent with the Armie in the field. And this alſo among other ancient and ſolemne ceremonies, the gyrding of a Queene at her Coronation with a ſworde, the ſetting of a paire of ſpurres to her heeles may wel ſignifie.

The ceremonies that Kings of Englād vſed in their coronation.

Whiche Ceremonies though they haue ben vſed from the time of King Edward the Confeſſour at leaſt, and frō the noble Alured and that vpon Kings only, except our owne time: yet the reaſon and ſignification of the ſame, may and doth take place in women Princes alſo, to put them in remembrance, to chaſtice al malefactours with conueniēt iuſtice. Yea with ſpeede to purſue not onely by their vnderofficers, but in their owne Roial perſons (if the neceſsitie of the time require it) their inward and outward enemies. Wherein they haue a preſident in this worthie Debora.

Vide ſpeculum Hiſtor. Rich. Caſtrenſ. lib. 3. cap. 3.

This Barac, of whom we haue ſpoken, by the cōſent of the moſt part of the expoſitors of holy Scripture, was Deboras huſband:

whereby ye may ſee, that the matrimonial duety of the wiſe to the huſband doth nothing repugne to the publike adminiſtration and office of the wife. Eche without other may frindly and preaceably agree. She may ſerue al turnes, to the contentation of God, her huſband, and the Commonwealth. For the reſpect whereof, the ſaid huſband being but a member and parcel of the ſame, and as ſubiect to his wife, in that reſpect, as any other: ſhe may, yea and ought to commaund the ſaid huſband, and as the caſe may ſtand, ſeuerely to puniſhe his outragiouſe behauiour, and doinges towardes the ſaid Commonwealth. This noble Debora therefore cõdemneth your Concluſion, as both vnnatural, and derogatiue to holy Scripture.

Neither wil this euaſion relieue you) (that ſome of your affinitie, for the maintenance of this ſo wrong an opiniõ haue vſed) that this is but one bare and an extraordinarie priuileged and perſonal example, hauing none other the like in Scripture. And therefore not to be drawen, to make therof a rule or preſident for womanly gouernmẽt. If this your replie be effectual, then farewel the Baptiſme of yong children, whereof it wilbe

One onely example in Scripture a ſufficient preſident.

wilbe harde to find more then one, if that one example may be found in al the holy Scripture. Then farewel a numbre of rights, Ceremonies, cuſtomes, and orders, aſwel in eccleſiaſtical, as in political affaires, al which haue but one, and ſome no one exãple at al therein. Yet it ſo being, that the vſe thereof is not repugnant to the ſaid holy Scriptures: they haue ben, they are, and may wel hereafter be kept, vſed and obſerued.

And yet I know no cauſe, but that the worthy Iudith may be another example alſo: who though ſhe were not gouerneſſe of the Commõwealth at that time, but others: yet plaied ſhe that parte, that ſeemed moſte abhorring and ſtrange to woman kind, deuiſing, yea and moſt manfully and meruelouſly executing in her owne perſon, the renoumed ſlaughter of the arrogant, haughty and proude Tyrant Holofernes. As her ſtomake and courage was manly and ſtout in that acte: ſo was ſhe not onely a noble vertuous woman, but a marueilous wiſe womã withal, and ſo was taken and iudged to be of al the people. Whereby it wil follow by good reaſon, that in caſe ſhe had ben the Gouerneſſe of al the people, her gouerment *Iudith. 13.*

would haue ben as wel profitable to the cō-
monwealth, as cōformable both to nature,
and the holy Scripture alſo. Which exāple
though it may ſeeme ſufficiēt to ouerthrow
your anſwere (be it neuer ſo artificially for-
ged) to Debora: yet to refute and refel it vt-
terly, not only by exāples, but euen by plaine
and ful authoritie of holy Scripture, let me
be ſo bolde, as to demaund your anſwer to
a queſtion or two? Firſt, whether if a man
ſeaſed in lands and poſſeſsions, dye without
iſſue male, his daughter by holy Scripture
ſhal inioy the ſaid landes and inheritance, or
no? In caſe ye ſay, ſhe ſhal not: the plaine
wordes of the ſcripture euidētly do reproue
you. If you graūt it, thē aſke I farder, what if
any ciuil gouermēt more or leſſe be annexed
and vnited to this inheritāce (as it is not on-
ly in Empires and Kingdomes, but in many
Dukedōs, Earldoms, yea and Lordſhips alſo):
whether ſhe ſhalbe excluded from the ſaid
her inheritance? If ye ſay, yea: then you ſay
againſt Scripture. If you ſay, that the inheri-
tance muſt remaine in her, and the ciuil go-
uernment to others: then ſay you againſt al
reaſon, againſt the vſe, manner, and cuſtom
of the whole world: it is but your own fond

foliſh

foliſh gloſſe. Whervpõ I do inferre, that womanly gouernment is admitted, not only by theſe exãples, but euen by the very wordes, rules, and decrees of holy Scripture. And ſo I truſt you are, or haue cauſe to be fully ſatiſfied, aſwel touching your allegatiõ, that womãly Regimẽt is againſt nature, as alſo touchig a brother to be choſen king. And therfore I cõclude againſt you, that neither the law of God, nor of Nature, nor yet reaſon, (vpon the which alſo you ground yourſelf) doe reiect the ſaid Queene Marie from the ſucceſsion of the Croune of England.

It ſeemeth by the rules and vvordes of holie Scripture, that a vvormã may haue Ciuil gouernemẽt.

You reaſon, that where the people erect themſelf an Head of their owne kinde and Nation, there nature aſſureth the people of natural gouernment: and where a ſtranger carieth opinion of vnnatural tyranny, it aſſureth the ruler of vnnatural ſubiection. To a ſtraunger is murmurre, and rebellion threatned. But now if this excellent Ladie and Princeſſe be no ſtraunger, and be of our owne kinred, and of the auncient and late Roial bloud of this Realme (as we haue declared) then is your reaſon alſo withal auoided, which may and doth oftẽtimes take place in more ſtraungers, cõming in by vio-

lent and forceable meanes. But here, as natural a man, as you make your ſelf, ye ſeeme to goe altogether againſt reaſon, and againſt nature alſo. If Princes Children were to be counted ſtrãgers and Aliens, or to be ſuſpected as enemies and Tyrantes ſucceding to their owne Progenitours inheritance, it was an vnnatural parte, and a great folie in the noble Kinges of this and of many other Realmes, to geue out their daughters to foreine Princes in mariage. And in ſteade of preferring and aduancing them by their mariage, and procuring thereby frindſhip and amitie with other Princes, to diſable their ſaid children from ther Aunceſtours inheritãces in thoſe Coũtries, from whence they originally proceded. And as it ſeemeth by your kind of reaſoning, to purchaſe and procure byſide to them thereby an opinion of enmitie and tyrannie.

This, this, I ſay, is a frowarde and an vnnatural interpretation. Nature moueth and driueth vs, to think otherwiſe, and that both a Prince wil fauour, loue and cheriſhe the people, from whence he fetcheth his roial blood, and by whõ he muſt now mainteine, keepe, and defende his roial eſtate, and that

the

the people likewise wil beare singuler loue and affection to such a one, specially of such knowē Princely qualities, as this noble Ladie is adorned withal. Surely it is no more vnnatural to such a Prince, descending from the auncient and late roial blood of the Kinges of England, to beare rule in Englād, and as it were to returne to the head and fountaine, from whence originally she sprāg: then it is for al fluddes and riuers which (as Homer saith) flow out of the great Oceā sea, ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα, καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρείατα μακρὰ ῥέουσι. to reuert, returne and reflow againe to the said Ocean.

The Q. of Scotland no stranger to Englād

This coherence, coniunction, copulatiō, inclinatiō, and fauour running interchangeably betwixt such a Prince and the people, is no more strāge to nature, then is the cōiunction of the tree and the rote thereof, then of the fountaine and the Riuer issewing frō thence, then of the sonne and of the sonne beames, and finally then is the coniunction betwixt the old auncient liuing grandmother, and her yong and tendre daughter. Neither do I wel know, how I may better cal noble England, then a liuing grandmo-

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ther to this good gētle Ladie, whō we (I doe not doubt, if euer God cal her to the Roial state therof) shal not only find a louing and gratious Maistresse, but a most deare and tendre good doughter. For these and other cōsideratiōs, the lawes of the Realm do not nor euer did estrāge such Princes, from the succesiō of the Croun of this realm: which by reason of the said mutual inclination and beneuolēce of th'one to the other, standeth with the law of God and nature, and with al good reason. And therfore your cōclusion is against Gods law, Nature and al good reason. Wherby you ful vngodly, vnnaturally, and vnreasonably, do cōclude, an exclusion of the Q. of Scotlād (pretending her to be a strāger) to that right, that God, Nature and reason, and the true harts of al good natural Englishmen do cal her vnto. The which her said iust right, title and interest, we trust we haue now fully proued and iustified, and sufficiētly repulsed the sundry obiectiōs of the aduersaries. And as this being the principal, ought to breede no doubt or scruple in any mā, so many other foliish, fond and fantastical obiections, not worthy of any answere, that busie quarelig heads do cast forth, to disable

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her right, or to disgrace her, and bleamish either her honour, or this happie vniō of both Realmes, if God shal so dispose of it, ought much lesse to moue any mā. An happy vniō I cal it, bicause it shal not only take away the long mortal enmitie, the deadly hatred, the most cruel and sharp warres, that haue so many hundred yeares ben continewed, betwixt our neighbours, the Scotsmen and vs, but shal so intierly consociate, conioine and so honorably set foorth and aduaūce vs both and the whole Iland of Britanie, as neither tonge cā expresse the greatnes of our felicitie and happines, nor hart wish any greater. The old enmitie hath trodden downe, and kept vs both vnder foot, and hath giuen occasion to the common enemie, as the Danes and other to spoile vs both. It hath caused for these thousand yeares, and more, so infinite and so ougly slaughters, as it wil greeue and pitie any mans hart to remembre: and yet neither to the great augmentatiō of our possessions at this day, nor to their much losse, they hauing lost nothing of their olde auncient inheritance, sauing Barwike only. If this cōiunctiō once happē, and if we be once vnited and knit together in one kingdome.

A great cōmoditie that shal come to England and Scotland, by the vnion of them, in case this Succesion chaunce.

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and dominion, in one entier brotherly loue and amitie, as we are already knit by neighbourhoode, by tongue, and almoſt by all manners, faſhions, and behauiours: then will al vnnatural and butcherly ſlaughter, ſo lõg hitherto practiſed ceaſſe, then wil reſt, quiet wealth and proſperitie increaſe at home: then wil al outward Princes our frindes, reioice and be comforted, our enemies dread vs. Then wil the honour, fame, and Maieſtie of the Ilande of Albion daily growe more and more, and her power and ſtrength ſo greatly encreaſe, as to the frinde wilbe a good ſhield, and to the enemie an horrible terrour. Then ſhal the vtwarde enemie litle indãmage vs: then ſhal we with our children after vs reape the pleaſant fruites of this noble cõiunctiõ, wrought thus to our hãdes by Gods good and gratious prouidence, without expenſe, force or ſlaughter, which hitherto a numbre of our courageous, wiſe, and mightie Princes, haue this thouſand yeares and vpwãrd ſought for (but in vaine as yet) with ſo exceſsiue charges, with ſo great paines, and with ſo many and maine Armies, and with the blood of ſõ many of their ſubiectes.

Then

Then ſhal we moſt fortunately ſee, and moſt glorioufly inioye a perfect and entier Monarchy of this Ile of Britanie, or Albion, vnited and incorporated after a moſt merueilous ſort, and in the worthie and excellēt perſon of a Prince, mete and capable of ſuch a monarchie. As in whoſe perſon, byſide her worthy, noble and princely qualities, not only the roial and vnſpotted blood of the auncient and noble Kings of Scotlād, but of the Normans, and of th'Engliſh Kings withal, as wel long before, as ſithēce the Cōqueſt: yea and of the Britaines alſo the moſt auncient inhabitants and Lords of this Iland, do wōderfully, and (as it were) euen for ſuch a notable purpoſe, by the great prouidence of God, moſt happily concurre. The euident trueth whereof, the ſaid Queenes petigrue doth moſt plainly, and openly ſet foorth to euery mans ſight and eye: Then I ſay, may this noble Realme and Iland be called not Albion only, but rather Olbion, that is, fortunate, happy and bleſſed.

Which happy and bleſſed coniunction (when it chaūceth) if we vnthankfully refuſe, we refuſe our health and welfare, and Gods good bleſsing vpon vs: we refuſe our

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dewty to God, who ſendeth our dewty to the partie whom he ſendeth, and our dewty to our natiue Coũtrey to whom he ſendeth ſuch a perſon to be our Maiſtreſſe. And ſuch commodities and honour withal comming therby (as I haue ſaid) to whole Albiõ, as a greater we cannot wiſhe. And finally we ſhal procure and purchaſe (as much as in vs lieth) ſuch diſturbance of the commonwealth, ſuch vexatiõs, troubles, and warres, as may tende to the vtter ſubuerſion of this Realme: from which dangers God of his great and vnſpeakable mercie defend and preſerue vs.

FINIS.

Hos tres libros à viris Catholicis, iiſq; eruditiſsimis lectos, & examinatos, intellecto ab iiſdem librorum argumento, vnà cum editionis neceſſarijs cauſis, iudicaui meritò edendos eſſe. Actum Louanij. 6. Martij. 1571.

Thomas Gozæus à Bellomonte, ſacræ Theologiæ Profeſſor, & authoritate Pontificis librorum approbator.

Errata Libri ſecundi.

fol.	Pa.	Lin.	Errata.	Correction.
4	2	16	Ad	And
10	1	18	vvorlde	vvorde.
11	2	14	good	goodes
28	2	17	Bblach	Blanch.
32	1	3	in Chauncerie	In the Chauncerie.
53	2	16	Landes and teſtamentes	lãdes and tenemẽtes
58	2	24	lauſully neece	lauſull neece.
64	2	5	unto heires	unto the heires.
66	2	27	be produced	be procured.
67	1	17	put out vvrongfully.	

Errata Libri tertij.

9	1	2	Salomon	Salmon.
9	1	5	faſly	ſafely.
15	2	22	father Conſtantius	father Conſtantius.



